

Translations from the Tārīkh i Fīrūzshāhī.

[Continued from Journal for 1870, p. 51.]

THE REIGN OF MU'IZZ-UDDÍN.—*By* P. WHALLEY, Esq., C. S.

Praise be to God, the Master of the learned, and benediction on his prophet Muhammad, and a thousand salutations to all his descendants. Invoking these blessings I, the weak Ziá i Baraní the compiler of the history of Fīrūz Sháh, continue my narrative as follows : In the reign of the emperor Mu'izz-uddín Kaiqubád, grandson of the Emperor Balban, I was a mere child, and what I have set down in this history of the events and results of his rule, I heard from my father, Muayyid-ul-Mulk, and my tutors who were the most learned men of the age. From them I have heard that in the months of the year 685, A. H., Sultán Mu'izz-uddín Kaiqubád, son of Bagharrá Khán, and grandson of the emperor Balban, succeeded the latter and was established on the throne of Dihlí at the age of seventeen or eighteen years. This emperor Mu'izz-uddín was a prince of generous actions and noble qualities ; he had a well-ordered temper, a refined nature, and great comeliness of person, but the desires of self-indulgence and a longing to gratify youthful appetites, and a taste for wealth and luxury had carried their assault into his breast. From infancy up to the day he succeeded to the throne he had been trained under the eye of his grandfather, Balban, and so many rigorous guardians were appointed to look after him, that he had no chance of enjoyment, and no opportunity of gratifying his caprices. In their fear of the emperor Balban, his guardians never suffered him to cast a glance on a pretty face, or to taste a cup of wine. Night and day stern-tempered preceptors were set over him, who laboured to polish and refine him. There were professors who instructed him in writing, and science, and deportment, and others who taught him to shoot, and to play at ball, and to hurl the javelin, and they never allowed him to offend against propriety, or to be guilty of an ill-bred action or to speak an uncourteous word. When suddenly and unexpectedly and without reference to his wishes he was happily established

on a throne, the magnificence of which had been greatly amplified, and in an empire reaching to the shores of the ocean, and became possessed of a power, which others had for years been exhausting themselves and putting their lives in jeopardy to obtain, without accomplishing their desire,—when thus all at once he became absolutely his own master in pursuing his wishes and working them out,—he put out of remembrance all he had read and heard and learnt and acquired, and laid on the shelf his lessons of science and manners, and plunged headlong into pleasure and dissipation; indulging in the wildest excesses and holding the gratification of his youthful caprices above royal cares and the momentous affairs of empire. Thus when the harsh violence and tyranny of Balban, with the constraint of fear and the oppressive awe inspired by his sixty years' rule, was wholly and summarily removed, and in place of an old king of ripe experience and mature years, wayward, arbitrary, penetrating, artful, an old wolf girdled with such a terrorism of reproof and chastisement and bonds and imprisonment, that under the coercion of his rule not a desire of sport and levity, not a sigh for wine and love found utterance in the hearts of his lords and vassals, and the very names of sensuality, and self-indulgence and jest and laughter, of masquerades and minstrels were never breathed on the lips of the chiefs and nobles of the empire, nay, had been forgotten by the people at large, in his stead, I say, there sat on the throne a king, youthful and comely, kindly, easy-tempered, luxurious, a votary of pleasure and gaiety, ardently enamoured of enjoyment, as careless of the right conduct of the affairs of government, as ignorant of the way to keep them straight, without experience of the vicissitudes of the stars, or skill to prove their treachery,—the kingdom was given over to triflers. Voluptuaries and convivialists, seekers of pleasure, purveyors of wit, and inventors of buffooneries, who had kept in the back-ground, lurking, unemployed, without a customer for their wares, came into request. Courtezans appeared in the shadow of every wall, and elegant forms sunned themselves on every balcony. Not a street but sent forth a master of melody, or a chanter of odes. In every quarter a singer or a song-writer lifted up his head. The times were in harmony with jovial tempers and easy circumstances; for

tune smiled on parasites and courtiers; prosperity went out to welcome the jester and buffoon; pipers and courtezans saw the star of love rise into the mansion of eminence, and the moon, propitious to the queens of beauty, assumed the ascendant in their horoscope. So the emperor Mu'izz-uddín and the nobles of his realm and empire, and the children of the peers and princes of his time, and the gay, the rich, the sensualists and the epicures who lived under his rule, one and all gave themselves up to gluttony and idleness and pleasure and merriment, and the hearts of high and low alike were engaged in wine and love and song and carnival. "The ideas of the people adapt themselves to the faith of their kings." Noble and old and young, learned and ignorant, philosopher and fool, Hindú and Musalmán, emerged from the cities of the provinces. Business and places of business assumed a new aspect to the world. All the people threw wide the windows of their pleasure-house. The Emperor Mu'izz-uddín ceased to reside in the city. Leaving the metropolis of the Red Fort for Kílok'harí, there, on the bank of a stream, he built a peerless palace, and laid out a park of surpassing magnificence, and with his princes and chiefs and nobles and intimates and servants of the court, went thither and abode. All the princes and chiefs and gentlemen and men of science and officials reared booths near the palace; and afterwards finding that the Emperor was inclined to remain permanently at Kílok'harí, they erected palaces and villas each in his own quarter. Likewise the heads of every guild went from the city to Kílok'harí and resided; and Kílok'harí became populous and prosperous. The rumour of the employments of the Emperor, and his courtiers, high and low, and their favourite pursuits and their gaiety and mirth spread and reached all the quarters of the kingdom: and from all the quarters of the cities and of the empire, minstrels and rhetors, and beauties, and singers and wits and buffoons and mimics came to court. The place teemed with life, and licentiousness was the order of the day. The mosques were deserted by their worshippers and the taverns were thronged. No one cared to stay in the cloisters, but distilleries became places of note. The price of wine rose tenfold. The people were plunged in pleasure and gaiety and

no thought of sadness, or anxiety, or grief, or care, or fear, or dread, or restraint found place in a single breast. The clever, the genial, the wits, and the jesters, one and all, migrated to the town. The minstrels and courtezans invented new modes of pleasing. The purses of the vintners and distillers were gorged with gold and silver coins. Beauties and swash-bucklers and literary panders were overwhelmed with gold and jewels. For the men of title and the men of letters there was nothing left to do but to drink wine, to make the assemblies sparkle with their wit, to vie with each other in repartee, to resign themselves to music and dice and largess, and the zest of the passing hour, anything to prop up life against the insidious sapping of time, and give night and day their fill of pleasure and repose. In fine they furnished the emperor's court so superbly with beauty and wit, that the enchantment he drank in by ear and eye, never lost its hold upon his breast till death. Ziá i Jahjahí and Husám, the hermit, the wittiest of their time, and the best talkers of the age, men with a marvellous knack at bon-mots and unrivalled in dialogue and conversation became associates in the private audience-chamber of the emperor; and for everything they said which was thought witty, and for every neat saying and joke they made before the king, they obtained presents of money and apparel and caparisoned steeds. Thus the Emperor lived day and night in a round of pleasure, absorbed in the pursuit and gratification of his desires. Meanwhile Malik Nizám-uddín son-in-law and cousin of Malik-ul-Umará, Kotwál of Dihlí, fawned about the imperial throne, and in the guise of an attached servant of the Emperor aimed at the vice-royalty of the realm. The conduct of all matters of administration devolved upon him; and Malik Qiyám-uddín of the secretary's department, who, in learning and eloquence and style, and the subtle arts of secretaryship had no equal, became the main prop of the State, and Agent Plenipotentiary. Nizám-uddín was a man of great industry, with a talent for administration, discreet, penetrating, and artful; and when not only matters of administration but the whole policy of the empire passed into his hands, the maliks and slaves of Balban, a numerous and influential body, who had become without exception, chiefs and counsellors

and pillars of the royal State, were one and all troubled and discomposed at his rise. (And not without cause for) the lust of sovereignty had settled in his head, and while the Emperor was lost in dissolute pleasures, the more experienced of the chiefs of the household, men who had tasted the vicissitudes of life, finding out that there was no immunity for themselves to be expected from Nizám-uddín, split into factions, and this discordancy of the maliks with their wide family connections, threw the whole course of things in the palace into confusion. Several of the leading maliks began to aspire to empire. Nizám-uddín in particular, observing the abandoned dissipation and reckless indifference of the Emperor, whetted his tusks in anticipation of a struggle for power. He reflected and not unjustly, that Emperor Balban, the wily old wolf, who for sixty years had held the empire of Dihlí in check, and in one way or another brought the nobles into absolute submission, was now out of the way ; his son, the only one who had an aptitude for command, had been martyred in his father's lifetime, Bagharrá Khán was helpless at Lak'hnautí, the roots of the empire, which the old man had carried deep, were daily slacking their hold, while Mu'izz-uddín, the emperor, was so conquered by self-indulgence that he no longer cared to rule. Hence if he could only get rid of Kai Khusrau, the son of the martyred prince, and detach some of the old maliks from Mu'izz-uddín, the empire of Dihlí would easily fall into his hands. With ideas like these, the key notes of rebellion, Nizám-uddín entered for the stakes of the empire of Dihlí, and taking up first the subject of Kai Khusrau, he spoke on this wise to the Emperor ; “ Kai Khusrau is your rival in
“ the empire, he is distinguished by kingly qualities, and there is
“ a decided leaning on the part of the maliks to his side. They
“ know he is the proper heir to the Emperor Balban, and if a few
“ of Balban's maliks fraternise with him, it will not take them a
“ day to thrust you aside and bring him in and seat him on the
“ throne of Dihlí. The true policy for you, therefore, is to send for
“ him from Multán and remove him out of your path.”

Bent on the destruction of Kai Khusrau, and resolved not to be thwarted, they despatched a firmán requiring the presence of the martyr Prince's son, and then Nizám-uddín, taking advantage of a

moment of intoxication, obtained from the Emperor permission to put this noble prince to death. He deputed some persons from the Court, and they brought Kai Khusrau to meet his fate in the town of Rohtak. The result of his death was, that all Balban's chiefs who had become courtiers and counsellors in the Court of Mu'izz-uddín conceived a dread of malík Nizám-uddín. The splendour and dignity of the maliks was broken, they all alike became the victims of terror, and Nizám-uddín triumphed. He brought forward some small matter as a pretext for a charge against Khwájah Khaṭír, Mu'izz-uddín's vazír, and by his orders the vazír was seated on an ass, and carried about in mourning procession through the whole city. This proceeding spread the awe in which Nizám-uddín was held more widely than ever in the breasts of all the aristocrats of birth and letters. He meanwhile set himself vigorously to work to put down the chiefs and heads of families, and told the Emperor in private, that "the new converts among the nobles, who were in office, and employed about the imperial person, had formed a cabal. The Emperor had been unwise in making them his friends and counsellors. They intended treachery to him, and would suddenly burst into the palace, and kill him and seize the empire." The Mughul chiefs too were holding meetings in their private houses, and plotting together. They were all of one race, heads of a numerous clientèle, combined for mutual support, and only waiting an opportunity for a sudden outbreak." Only a few days were allowed to elapse after this discourse on their insurrectionary spirit, when he again pressed the matter on the emperor, and obtained leave to capture and destroy them. He caused the whole party to be seized on the same day in the palace, and had the majority of them put to death, and threw their bodies into the stream, and caused their household property to be pillaged. Some sons of the confederates of Balban, of noble malik families, united to the massacred chiefs by ties of blood and familiar intercourse, he put under arrest and conveyed to distant fortresses. The old influential families he uprooted and dispersed. He pursued the same policy with Malik Sháhak Amír of Multán and Malik Tozakí. They held assigned tenures with the duty of mustering the provincial levies, and had retained large power and high state since the

Emperor Balban's time. Both of them on the most ingenious pretexts devisable were put out of the way. It was then manifest to all the intimates of the palace and the notables of the city what the malik's intentions were, and his gate and court became the resort and sanctuary of men of rank. To such an extent had he made the Emperor his puppet, that if any man, citizen or provincial, led by a spirit of sincerity and loyalty, whispered in the Emperor's ear a hint of his designs, the Emperor would forthwith mention to Nizám-uddín, "So and so has told me such and such things about you," and then he would seize the man and make him over to Nizám-uddín as "the man who wants to thrust himself between you and me." Such was Nizám-uddín's success in establishing the closest relations with the king and ennobling his position and securing supreme authority, that his wife, a daughter of Malik-ul Umará was adopted by the Emperor as his mother and queened it in the royal harem. All the nobles in the palace with the chiefs and governors and holders of assigned lands, observing his triumphant career, drew in their horns and looked on; and while intent on new schemes of their own, watched the secret treason of Nizám-uddín, and devoted themselves with the aid of every available stratagem to back up him and his adherents.

Many a time, the Malik-ul Umará, Fakhruddín Kotwál sent in private for Nizám-uddín who was his son-in-law and cousin, and remonstrated with him about the schemes of empire he was pursuing, the enmity he had excited among the chiefs and courtiers, and the men of worth whose death he had contrived. The Kotwál would say: "I have brought you up, and you are of my house. Your grandfather and I for the last eighty years have held the post of Kotwál in Dihlí. We engaged in no intrigues for power, and we lived in peace. Oh, my boy, remember that I am an officer, and you are of my house. A Kotwál is a king's officer, and there is no nobler position or more exalted rank to which an officer can attain. It is now many years since I first held this office. Give up this mad idea of sovereignty. (Think rather), empire is not in my line. The imperial purple befits the person of soldiers and warriors who know how to overthrow armies at need by a display of courage and manly vigour. It would hardly sit well

on me who cannot put a horse to speed, nor shoot an arrow, nor hurl a spear and have never seen the face of battle, and have no fitness or aptitude for governing empires and ruling states. If you will not abandon this perverse idea which has fixed itself in your mind owing to your exclusive intimacy with the emperor, you will be the ruin not only of me but of all my children and my numerous connections. Nothing worth the pains can come of this scheme of yours. The Kotwál wound up his admonition with this couplet—

“‘O fox, why could you not remain contented in your rank
If a lion gives you blow for blow, you’ve but yourself to thank.’”

Again he said—“You never saw the Emperor Shams-uddín and the glory of his reign and his nobles and courtiers, but you have seen the Emperor Balban and his chiefs and his laudable and austere fashions, how khans and maliks and courtiers and nobles scarce dared to look in his face for more than a moment, so terrible and awful was it; so overpowering was his grandeur and magnificence that it turned the gall of tigers to water. We, who for years have run before mounted monarchs as servants, though honoured ones, how can we now assume the duties of empire and sovereignty? You may put on a new cap and a white belt and a brocaded vest, and mount an Arab horse with trappings of gold, and see a few drunken lords and a few scaramouches without name or title before and behind you, and think it a fine thing to be an emperor. But do you not know or have you not heard that the imperial throne and the august masnad are for those who have greatness and nobility in their veins? men who look on life as a plaything, who, in the hour of battle can tear the brains out of their foes and open the flood-gates of blood, and bring earth and heaven together with a crash? You with this form and face and figure and manner of yours, who dare not strike a green-grocer with an onion-stalk, or fling a clod at a jackal, how can you count yourself a man among men and dream of an imperial crown? Perhaps you have not heard this couplet—

‘Like a man with warrior aspect enter thou the lists of war!
Simping dandies never vanquished Rustam and Isfandiyár.’

“And suppose that the poor drunken and besotted king in some

unguarded moment, fell a victim to the treachery of one of your assassins, be sure the dishonour of such an act would cleave to you and your children till the world's end. But suppose that after a while you are seated on the throne of Dihlí, darkening it with the stain of your infamy,—your courtiers and counsellors either brothers in crime, meet minions to adorn the sceptre of your sovereignty, or your sons who will claim the title of princes, or a retinue composed of the faithful followers of your earlier days and pensioners on your bounty, or slaves who will be sure to flock in crowds round your imperial throne, and will be no unmeet confidants and lords for such an emperor, or, if you like, a few vagabonds like those now hanging about you, abject villains, whom you believe to be your very devoted servants and well-wishers because every now and then they ask where they shall place this cup or that flask for you, fellows who comb their beards and wear fine coats and gold sashes and rub themselves with extracts of rose,—these are the sort of men you will have as friends and councillors in the court of Jamshed and Kai Khusrau. You will set up misers and skinflints, and mean helpless knaves and fools in high places, and will drag down the honour of the empire into the mire of contempt and insignificance. The gravest matters of state, the task of the great and noble, will be made over to nobodies and sons of nobodies and misbegotten knaves, who care for no interests but their own, and who for their vile money-bags would throw themselves headlong out of paradise. Have you not heard me tell over and over again of the courtiers of Shams-uddín, what princely men they were and what utter nobility and greatness they were endowed with, so that many a time the emperor Shams-uddín in mid conclave exclaimed—‘How shall I thank the High God enough who has given me for courtiers men so noble, a thousand times better than myself! Each time that in obedience to the imperial custom they pass before me and behind, and raise their hands in salutation, and stand before me in Darbár, their greatness and nobility makes me ashamed of myself, and ready to come down from my throne and kiss their feet and hands.’ The emperor Balban with twenty years’ experience as a malik and twenty years’ as a khán, gathered round him a set of nobles on whom he could rely

in any emergency, men of grave temperament and widely respected, and when he mounted the throne these were the men whose character gave its complexion to his court. By such a selection of courtiers, prosperity was secured, and that signal success which attended the administration of both these emperors. The memory of the events of their reigns will last while the world lasts, and the pen of the annalist will record their glories.”

After the above had passed, the kotwál said to Nizám-uddín. “Go, my boy, and mind your own business, and rid you of these wild notions. Empire is not for us or the like of us.” Nizám-uddín replied—“It is even as you say, and yet at a conjuncture like this, when I have made the people my enemies, and they all know what I am after, if I abandon my design on the throne, I shall certainly lose my life.” “Yes,” said the Malik-ul Umará. “But the design is not within your compass, and if you cannot give it up, you may indeed bid farewell to life and set about building your tomb. God protect us, that your pride and your ambition may not be the death of us all!”

The warnings and lectures which the Malik-ul Umará addressed to his son, and his good advice, spoken as it were under divine inspiration, came to the ears of the great and the worthy and leaders and chiefs of the city, and they all praised the Malik-ul Umará, and acknowledged his wisdom; and their belief in his foresight, and provident wisdom was a hundred-fold increased. But Nizám-uddín was not the man to profit by advice, and the lust of dominion made his eyes blind, and his ears deaf. Every day he pushed forward a fresh pawn on the chess-board of empire, while fickle fortune in the interest of the sovereignty of the Khiljís kept pushing out of his reach the means of disturbing the dynasty of Balban, and the heavens laughed mockingly in his face, and summoned the Khiljís with felicitations to the throne. Also it became known to the emperor Mu’izz-uddín that Nizám-uddín was plotting his destruction, and all the Court knew it; and even while Mu’izz-uddín yet filled the throne at Dihlí, his father Bagharrá Khán at Lak’hnautí assumed the title of Sultán Náçir-uddín and had prayers recited and coins struck in his own name. Letters were exchanged between father and son. Envoys and messengers went and came with

despatches in quick succession. Presents and curiosities and souvenirs were interchanged; and many a tale reached Sultán Náçir-uddín in Lak'hnautí, telling how Mu'izz-uddín was lost in dissipation and Nizám-uddín was detaching from him many maliks and nobles of influence, and had nearly brought things to the crisis when he would destroy the emperor and secure for himself the throne. Sultán Náçir-uddín wrote letters full of advice and admonition to his son, and by hints and indications acquainted him with Nizám-uddín's villainous designs for his overthrow. But the intoxication of youth, of sovereignty, of selfish indulgence, and of dissipation had so driven the emperor out of his senses, that he was unable to give heed to his father's warnings or look into the traitorous schemes of Nizám-uddín. Drowned in pleasure and frivolity, he meddled with no business that bore on the state and tendency of political affairs. Apart from the niaiseries of his lemans, and the circling of his cup-bearers, and the languishing voices of his singers, and the pleasantries of his jesters, he had no care, and no occupation. From hour to hour he made pleasure yield him her portion, and from day to day allowed the claims of luxury. The Sultán Náçir-uddín, his father, at Lak'hnautí, hearing the reports of his recklessness and indifference was grieved and perturbed, and saw his son's ruin imaged in the mirror of experience. He found that, while absent, his warnings had no effect, and resolved to meet his son and say what he had to say face to face. He despatched letters full of affection to his son, and at last wrote with his own hand to this effect: "My son! you have an empire on your hands, and yet you do not relax your pursuit of pleasure and enjoyment. I wish that you would think it worth your while to meet me, for I am weary with longing to see you." He concluded his letter with this verse—

"Let others seek in heaven the abodes of bliss;
Whilst thou art here, there is no heaven like this."

A vein of tenderness was stirred in the Emperor Mu'izz-uddín when he read the affectionate missive of his father. The desire of meeting overcame him; the tears ran from his eyes; and he sent a few trustworthy men to Lak'hnautí, and wrote letters proposing an interview, and an arrangement was come to, that Mu'izz-uddín

should go from Dihlī to Audh, and Sultān Nāḡir-uddīn should come from Lak'hnautī to the banks of the river Sarw, and the meeting of father and son should take place there. Mu'izz-uddīn at first thought of departing for Audh privately; but Malik Nizām-uddīn represented that it was not a wise thing for the emperor to make so long a journey unattended. It was a great distance from Dihlī to Audh. The usages and ceremonies of royalty must be observed, and an escort corps of veterans organized before the journey could be commenced. "For," said he, "one empire cannot hold a father and son together. Our forefathers have said 'Almulku'aqīmūn' and the interpretation they put on these two Arabic words, is, that, when the lust of empire possesses them, fathers will kill their sons, and sons destroy their fathers; where an empire is at stake, the natural affection between fathers and sons is lost sight of; and for this cause, no matter what faith they held, fathers have slain their sons for the sake of their personal safety, and sons, carried away by the lust of empire, have laid waste their father's dominions. Nor has one ever suffered the other to be a hindrance to his ambition. On an occasion like this, where the emperor goes to meet his father, and that father is one who has imperial prayers read for him, and coins struck with his own superscription, and is in fact the legitimate heir of the empire, who knows what may happen, when the two forces meet together? It will be better for the emperor to take an army with him. Moreover splendour and pomp and reverence and respect are the inseparable concomitants of royalty, and as your Majesty's road lies through Hindústān, all the chiefs and princes of the provinces will come to do fealty at your court, and if they only meet with a private reception, the awe and terror of the throne will be lessened in the eyes of the general public, and the submissive temper of many will change into stubborn opposition."

This counsel, which was obviously sound, approved itself to the emperor Mu'izz-uddīn, and he ordered a military force to be assembled, and the paraphernalia of imperial pomp to be got ready. In the course of a few days the preparations were complete, and with imperial state and a well-equipped force the Emperor took his departure for Audh. Reaching Audh they pitched the imperial

pavilion on the shore of the river Sarw. The emperor Náçir-uddín, hearing of the approach of his son with a body of troops, surmised that Nizám-uddín was bent on intimidating him; and, collecting all his army and his elephants, he came forth out of Lak'hnaútí, and marching daily, reached the banks of the Sarw and encamped thereon. The two armies took up their positions on either side of the river, so that they could see each other's tents. For two or three days intelligencers went to and fro from either side, from father to son and from son to father, and brought and carried messages.

Finally the interview was arranged on this footing,—that Sultán Náçir-uddín should acknowledge the respect and ceremony due to the Emperor of Dihlí, and cross the river Sarw, and come to see his son, and the son should be on his throne and the father should perform the ceremony of kissing his hand. Sultán Náçir-uddín said—"I feel no reluctance at the thought of doing fealty to my son. True, he is my offspring, but he sits on the throne of Dihlí in my father's place, and the throne of Dihlí is a throne which commands veneration, and claims homage from all the kings of other climes. It is the due of the Emperor of Dihlí; and I though the son of the Emperor Balban, and though the throne of Dihlí was my right,—since it has accrued to my son, I hold it the same as if it had come to me, and passed to him after my death. If it has come to him during my lifetime, the happier for me. The empire of Dihlí is still vested in my house, and if on this occasion I fail to observe the respect due to the Emperor of Dihlí, and refuse to pay fealty to my son, and to stand in his presence with joined hands, the glory of the Emperor of Dihlí will be broken, and the damage will be mine, and my son's alike. Moreover my father enjoined on me as his last precept, that I should be leal and true to the Emperor of Dihlí, and pay duly the reverence which he can duly claim."

Thus it was settled; and the astrologers of the Court chose an auspicious day for the interview in reference to the stars of father and son, and on that day the place of audience was appointed over against the peacock* dais, and there were set in order the magni-

* I read طائوسی conjecturally. I can make nothing of طالسي.

ficent paraphernalia of the reception, and Sultán Mu'izz-uddín sat enthroned, and held high Court. Sultán Náçir-uddín entered by the lobby, and passed within the screen, and bowed his head to the ground in the place of obeisance, and thrice went through the ceremony of kissing the earth before the emperor. When he approached the throne, Sultán Mu'izz-uddín could no longer endure the spectacle of his father's humiliation. Discarding his imperial pride, he came down from the throne, and fell at his father's feet. In his father's presence, the arrogance of royalty was forgotten. Gentler and softer feelings vibrated in the breasts of both. Father and son in a transport of affection melted into tears, and fell into each other's arms; and the father pressed his lips to his son's eyes, and kissed his cheeks, and the son, weeping, rubbed his eyes upon his father's feet. Those who were present and witnessed this outburst of tenderness raised a clamour of sympathy.

When after a while, calm was in some measure restored, the father took the son's hand, and handed him up to the throne, thinking to remain standing before him. But the son stepped down again, and caught the father's hand, and brought him up on the dais, and seated him on his right hand, and himself turned aside his face and sat in an attitude of humility before him.

Then with due ceremony several trays of gold and silver dínárs, and vessels full of gold and silver tangas were showered over the heads of parent and child; and those who stood near the throne gathered up the dínárs and tangas; and the trays and coffers used in the ceremony were flung to those who stood farther off; and the bards broke forth into strains of panegyric, and the melodious minstrels tuned their melodies, and the gold sticks and the mace-bearers and the footmen lifted up their voices, and the crowd scrambled for the scattered coins.

Whilst the attendants of the Court were thus variously engaged, father and son were so deeply affected by their interview, that the water coursed from their eyes, and the vehemence of their emotions so transported them, as to deprive them of the power of speech. At last the general entertainment came to an end. Father and son rose, and on the breaking up of the court, retired into a private apartment where they sat awhile conversing. Then the Sultán

Náçir-uddín returned, and crossing the river came into his own camp.

PART II.—THE INTERVIEW BETWEEN SULTA'N NA'SIR-UDDÍN AND
SULTA'N MU'IZZ-UDDÍN.

From time to time the father sent to his son rare gifts and delicate fruits, and the son to the father presents of sweetmeats and wines and desserts of princely magnificence. On the second day of their meeting the Emperor Mu'izz-uddín said—"My empire is my father's, and there is no rancour or antagonism between us, let the orders for one army be the orders for both, and let the men of either side and their relatives and friends meet together, and go to and fro, and visit each other in mutual confidence, and let the markets be open to both armies alike." A few days afterwards on the approach of the day of parting, a herald mounted on an elephant proclaimed an order to both armies, forbidding any soldier of the army of Dihlí to remain without permission in the borders of Lak'hnautí, and prohibiting the men of Lak'hnautí from coming into the territory of Dihlí. Then for some days in succession the Emperor Náçir-uddín came to his son and both Emperors sat and held their court together, and while they took their pleasure they spoke together, and drank to the memory of great men and their deeds, counting the happiness of present intercourse too dear for any mention of parting, a word inauspicious as death, to be suffered to cross their lips. One day, while the hours sped thus happily, the Emperor Náçir-uddín told how his father, the Emperor Balban had brought him up, and wept copiously, and said to his son—"When I and my elder brother had acquired the first rudiments of speaking and writing under the care of a skilful scribe, our tutors asked the Emperor what instruction in grammar and syntax and divinity was next to be given to the princes, what were his Majesty's commands, and what master should instruct us? He said—'Let them give the scribe a robe and a present and let him go, and let learned clerks and professors teach my sons the book of the courtesies of Emperors and the compilation of the acts of the Emperors which has been continued from (the caliphs of)

Baghdād down to the princes of my family, the sons of Sultān Shams-uddīn. Next let my sons have at their side old men of practice and experience, proficient in the science of history and the lives of notables, and let no mean-souled servile rascals be permitted to prowl round them. The science which such fellows devote themselves to, can be of no service to my sons. As to matters of prayers and fasting and ablution, and the like, they want no teaching. They have learnt thus much themselves.' So my brother and I studied the book of the courtesies of kings under Tāj-uddīn Bukhārī, one of the court attendants of Shams-uddīn, and repeated it from beginning to end before him, and when we had finished the book and repeated it before the Emperor, Shams-uddīn presented Khwājah Tāj-uddīn, who was an old man and full of years, with two villages and a hundred thousand jetals. In the beginning of that book, it is stated that Jamshed, who was one of the most famous sovereigns of the earth, used often to say to his sons that no clan-leader (*sar-i-khail*) who had not ten horsemen, picked men and good, should have the title of a clan-leader, and no captain (*sipah-sālār*) who had not ten clan-leaders at his beck and wholly at his disposal, even to their wives and children,* deserved to be called a captain, nor should a commander (*amīr*) who had not ten captains in his charge be called by that name, and if a governor (*malik*) had not ten commanders under him, it was mere absurdity to give him the title of governor, and a prince (*khān*) of a tribe who had not ten governors under him should be held to be no prince at all, nor was it meet to give the name of a ruler and a sovereign to a king (*pādishāh*) who had less than ten princes as his coadjutors and assistants. A king without resources like this is a mere landholder, a lord of wide lands. And an essential condition of kingship is, that all the clan-leaders and the lords should be men of sagacity and of good birth, and sons of distinguished men, not vile, and mean, of low origin and unmanly, nameless parvenus.† Having thus spoken, Jamshed went on to say, if a king is possessed of such aids and coadjutors, and such a multitude of retainers as I mentioned, the counsels of his govern-

* I suspect the text of this passage *نگذارند* * * *در تبع او* to be corrupt.

† Literally, without head or root.

ment will accomplish themselves according to his wish, and the results of his labours in administration will be stable and lasting. Such was the counsel which came to me as a heritage from Kaiúmars, my forefather; and of all the conditions of royalty which the ministers and governors in the presence of Kaiúmars laid down so accurately, the chief of all, without which kingship is impossible, and the title is empty and meaningless is that which I have instanced. And that condition, Jamshed said, had been fulfilled throughout his reign, and to the maxim of Kaiúmars, he attributed the augmentation of the glory and splendour and success which had attended him. And the meaning of Kaiúmars, he said, was that, without a body of retainers of the magnitude and character mentioned, a king could not be a king, but the more their numbers and loyalty were increased, the more dazzling would be the splendour of the throne, the more perfect and consistent and successful the administration, and the fuller the light shed over the counsels of the empire. So, after reciting the maxims of Jamshed, Sultán Náçir-uddín said to Sultán Mu'izz-uddín: "My son, the light of my vision, and my eye and my lamp, dearer to me than life itself! In the midst of pleasure and gaiety and debauchery, where can there be the will to strive after counsels of great kings and to put in practice the precepts of administrators and rulers? There is yet another maxim in the book of the courtesies of kings which to wise and sagacious kings of noble origin and descent is profitable and salutary." And Náçir-uddín went on to say; "As a sequel of the maxim I quoted, I have read in the same book that Jamshed said: 'It is impossible to regard or speak of a king as a ruler or administrator who has not sufficient wealth in his treasury to serve him in the event of rebellion or invasion to repulse the enemy without involving his subjects in the calamity of famine. For kings who supply themselves from the purses of all their subjects, ought they not to have wealth enough to be able in time of calamity or famine or distress to take as much care of their subjects as of their personal followers? What sort of a king is he, who asserts himself to be a king, and calls himself lord and master of his subjects, and yet gives them no relief in their difficulties and afflictions, and thinks it meet that his subjects should die of hunger?'

Rather in justice and truth, ought we to call him a king and deem him such, in whose realm no man sleeps hungry and naked, who makes such regulations and enacts such laws, that under their protection all his subjects are safe from distress, or at least from such distress as involves destruction of life.' "

Having thus counselled his son, Sultán Náçir-uddín turned to go. Mu'izz-uddín said—"It is the fate of my crown that of all the wise and experienced followers of my grandfather, there is not one faithful spirit left in the halls of my palace to admonish and exhort me now and again, and rouse me from the sleep of negligence. And when a king, out of fatherly compassion, urges on me a few counsels tending to the good of religion and the welfare of my realm, this fatherly compassion is matter for wonder and surprise." Sultán Náçir-uddín said—"O my son, you who are seated in my father's place, and who have succeeded to my heritage in my lifetime, I have seen much trouble, and I have come to you with the intention, which I still hold, of speaking a few words of advice in your ear, and making your pleasure bitter to you with the bitterness of warning, and on the day we part, I will say what is in my mind."

So on the day which was fixed for father and son to part, Sultán Náçir-uddín, before sunrise, came to his son, and said, "Order the morning meal to be put off till later in the day: I have a few words to say to you, and I wish to say them to-day in private audience. Order Nizám-uddín and Qiyám-uddín, who are now at the head of political affairs, to be present at the audience that they may hear what I have to say, and harbour no suspicions." Sultán Mu'izz-uddín directed that no stranger (*ná-muharram*) should be admitted to the audience, and Malik Nizám-uddín, Chief Justice, (*Amír-i-dád*) and Malik Qiyám-uddín his secretary,* were summoned to the audience, and both were desired to sit down. And Sultan Nasir-uddín having come into the private chamber, charged with good counsels for his son's ear, began by weeping bitterly and said—"Oh my boy, though you are my son, yet of a surety this day you sit in my father's place, and are entitled to reverence accordingly, no man but a father can wish another to be

* '*Iláqah*? A word, perhaps *dabír*, seems to have dropped out of the text, or '*iláqah* may be some obsolete title.

more prosperous than himself. A father may have such a wish for his son, and for you I desire prosperity a hundred-fold greater than has fallen to my lot. And in those days when I heard that the kotwals had seated you on the throne, and had become your hand and arm, I was glad beyond measure, reflecting that Lak'h-nautí being mine, and Dihlí having fallen to my son, my own power and dignity was a thousand-fold enhanced, and it was in the strength of your sovereignty that I issued in my own name the coins and manifestos (*khutbah*) of this realm. Since then for two years past, I have heard such stories of your profligacy and negligence and indifference, I wonder how your vices have left you in peace up to this hour on the throne of the kingdom, how there can be any vigilance in your government, how your kingdom and country, your governors and officers, your dependants and army and subjects, your treasury and income and expenditure can be under your control, or how any can look to your justice and favour, or hold themselves obedient to your behest. And yet, methinks, you know that the great and glorious God has created nothing in the universe sweeter and dearer than the world, and of all things in the world that are sweet and dear, He has brought into being nothing sweeter or dearer than empire, which is His vicegerency.* Is it not from the utter and exceeding sweetness of empire, that the affection that binds father to son is dissolved, and thus it comes to pass that the father slays the son, and the son sheds his father's blood, or causes him to be poisoned, or lives night and day in longing for his death? No chief in the world worthy of the name but aims to be chief of all; and from the day when I heard of your recklessness, and continued indulgence in pleasure, I have made lamentation for the empire of my father, and seen you and myself and both our kingdoms on the verge of annihilation; and ever since the news reached me that you were putting to death my father's servants and chosen officers, loyal men, whose death must needs have estranged from you the loyalty of the rest, a presage of your ruin has weighed upon my mind. I know, if you do not, how my father had to wade through blood to attain the kingdom of Dihlí, and himself several times narrowly escaped destruction,

* *Niyábat* is evidently intended. *Niháyat* is an error of the text.

and how some years elapsed before he secured the empire which was the object of his ambition, and how he wrested it from the hands of men possessed of all the advantages of birth, and wealth and previous renown, who had divided* the land of Shams-uddín amongst them and made it their prey, and who rose up against him from every quarter,—and how it was only by a long course of stratagems and device, that he eventually crushed his opponents. And yet because the kingdom has come into your hands easily and without toil, you despise it, and reckon it a light thing to slay the son of my elder brother, while I was foot-tied at Lak'hnautí, a brother who, naturally fitted for sovereignty, became a martyr in his father's lifetime. Saving us four, there was no other heir in the kingdom of Balban. Immediately that you are removed, this kingdom will fall into the hands of another family and another tribe, and they will not leave a name or trace of us on the face of the earth. God only knows what havoc another family, whether good or bad, may make in this land among our followers and comrades and tribesmen and servants and mistresses, and what disgrace and dishonour they may inflict on the inmates of our harems. My father who grew old in experiences as Malik, Khán, and king, used to say, 'I could if I wished beget sons and daughters in plenty from my wives and concubines, but I have heard from the leaders of our faith and the leaders of our people alike, that a king should not have many sons and daughters; for if the kingdom fall into the hands of one son, that son must admit all his brothers and cousins to partnership with himself, or he must slay them all or disperse them into distant climes.' And so with a king's sons-in-law. With the royal nuptials, the scent of dominion mounts into their brains, and leads them inevitably to their fate. When a king gives himself up to sensual indulgence, and begets many sons, it is as though with his own hands he had given them to the sacrifice. On the other hand if the kingdom do not fall to the king's son, but to a stranger, the new king's administration will not prosper, nor be secure until he has exterminated the counsellors, and adherents, and followers and comrades of the previous king. Oh my

* *Qist*, قست, is plainly wrong. قسمة, *qismat*, is the most obvious emendation.

son, be well assured that you owe your two years' continuance on the throne to the awe inspired by your grandfather, who drove down the roots of monarchy so deep in the garden of the empire, that wind and storm have not availed to shake it. Were it not so, no man of your stamp could maintain himself a day in the kingdom. My son, you seem to have no thought for your life: does not your mirror show you, when you look into it, how your complexion which was brighter than the red rose, has turned paler than saffron? A man who has no care for his health, will reckon little of sound and wholesome counsels in his government, and one who has no solicitude about his own life, is not likely to be solicitous about any created thing. How can such recklessness and indifference co-exist with the slightest care of the people who constitute the wealth of the ruler? I am grieved with your words and deeds, and being your father I can speak out of my grief bitter truths in your ear; and yet, myself excepted, there is not a living soul, nor can there be, however friendly and well-disposed towards you, who would tell you to your face what is for your good. I doubt not, that the pride engendered by the few days of royalty that have passed over your head, and the sight of a whole people flocking to your gates may make it hard for you to listen to me. But if you can only be sober for a few days, you will think over my words, and recognize their importance.

“Oh my son! my father used to say that empire consists in five things, and if they are not known and practised, the empire cannot remain stable. The first is—to practise justice and benignity; the second, to strengthen your army and to protect and cherish your subjects; the third, to amass treasure; the fourth, to treat with consideration the ministers and counsellors of the throne, and the fifth to be well-informed about the inhabitants of your kingdom, far and near. And when you take no heed of any of the five principles of government, how can the realm remain secure to you? My son, I dread these habits of yours which have come under my notice, and the customs you have addicted yourself to during these two years of your reign, (pardon me for speaking thus,) and the people, the gluttons and the voluptuaries, and the pleasure-seekers, and the tellers of idle tales whom I have seen in your

court. They will never let you draw back a moment from satisfying your soul's lust, or suffer you to devote yourself to the care of your kingdom and country, of your lords and vassals, and of the regulation of your finance, though all your happiness henceforth depends on your attention to these things. But the feelings of a father have prompted me to speak in your ear a few words of advice which may abide in your mind, and to take you in my embrace, and print a kiss on your eyes and cheek, and bid you a last farewell and go my way.

“ And the first maxim of your father is, Hold your kingdom dear, but your life dearer still. A little while, though you fear not your God or your people, yet for your own life's sake withdraw from pleasure and dissipation, and study to preserve your life, and abandon wholly and entirely a practice, of which I cannot speak for shame, but the excess of which has brought you to your present condition. Spare your own life, for the great men before my time have said, ‘ First life, then empire ; and where life is out of joint, where is the use of empire ? ’ And of a truth, my son, your life is out of joint, though you know it not.

“ And the second maxim is this, Refrain from slaying the maliks, and again, Destroy no malik who is a prop of the realm. If you annihilate your ministers, there will remain no one in the kingdom, who will place any confidence in you, and when the confidence of the subjects is withdrawn from the king, the stability of the kingdom is gone. Rather with courtesy and kindness and condescension and intelligence and wisdom turn your enemies into friends and well-wishers, and do not relax your watchfulness whatever may arrive.

“ And these two persons who are sitting before you, I mean Nizám-uddín and Qiyám-uddín, are good members of your court, who know their work and do it. Choose out two others like them from your court and city, and make them four pillars to your kingdom, and with these four pillars make the fort of your sovereignty strong and stable, and work out your policy through their agency. To one of the four, give the office of vizier, and make his rank greater than that of the rest ; and to the second, give the office of envoy, and place reliance on what he may say or report ; and to

the third, entrust the duty of receiving petitions, and let him have the management of your personal staff; and to the fourth, give the office of secretary, and trust to his opinion and discernment and good judgment for the conduct of foreign correspondence and that with your judicial and revenue officers. Be always equally accessible to all four officers alike. As for the counsellors of the state who may have a knowledge of the causes of the prosperity or decline of the country, adapt yourself to their views.* Do not mix up together the different offices of government, nor give all kinds of business into the hands of one, and do not let any one of your four ministers or any other of your courtiers get the upper hand over you, nor endue any one with absolute authority over the people, nor act so as to let the people conspire to resist you.

“The third saying of your father is this,—When you have selected four men duly qualified who know their work and will do it, and on whose gratitude and loyalty you can rely for the accomplishment of the counsels of your government, and when you have admitted them to share your political secrets, and have confided to them the theories and principles of your administration, every order you issue, and every opinion you express, and every measure you adopt in those four departments, and every political secret that you disclose,—all should be done in the presence of all four officers. And though the rank of vizier may be more exalted, yet for you the true statecraft is, not to give to any one of these four persons whom you may have made the pillars of your state, any such exceptional precedence as to be a source of irritation and offence to the minds of the other three. Be vigilant to note the good and evil qualities of the ministers of your will. Adhere to the settled usages by which your grandfather governed the country, and do not alter the rules of his administration, or add to, or take from, the practice of that far-seeing king; and do not carry your affability to the people so far as to destroy the sense of fear and dread and awe in which you should be held. If once the dread and awe of kingly dominion pass away from the minds of your subjects, then you are reduced to their level, and your command ceases to carry

* Such is the interpretation of this passage suggested to me by a native scholar, but I am far from being satisfied with it. Perhaps it means, attach to yourself the men who are capable of forming an opinion.

weight enough to secure its execution. But all that I have enjoined cannot become possible to you until you abstain from wine-drinking in excess.

“ The fourth thing I had to say to you is, that I have heard that you repeat no prayers, and do not keep the fast of Ramazán, and you cheat yourself with the excuses suggested by sciolists, dishonest, false to their creed, led by the lust of silver coins, and the glittering lure* of wealth, who have given you a dispensation to eat in fast time, and have told you to set free a slave or give victuals to sixty poor every fast day that you eat. You have listened to the voice of those birds of evil omen, and have not heeded the saying of true and honest men, that every one who eats during the fast of the month of Ramazán will die young. My boy, many is the time your grandfather said, kings and true Musalmáns should trust and act on the sayings of those who are spiritually wise, and not admit to their presence those servants who deal in casuistries and teach awry, nor act on the sophistries and glosses of dishonest men. Often have I heard from my father that wise men are of two kinds, the spiritually wise whom their God keeps apart from the world, and the love of the world and the lust of worldly things, and the worldly wise, who, from avarice, and friendship for the world and desire of the world, like dogs, violently and in hot haste hurry from door to door, dealing in death and calamity and heresies and mischievous doctrines which form their stock in trade. One can only call him a discriminating and pious king, who does nothing according to the saying of these worldly wise, and does not allow doctors, who hold the world dearer than their souls, to busy themselves with the divine precepts and commands, and suffers not the law of the blessed prophet to be robbed of its lustre in their leadership,—who asks no advice concerning his own religious conduct of covetous and avaricious men, who count the world their god; and if he desire his own salvation in matters of faith and matters of the world, entrusts the commands of the law of the blessed prophet to those sages who have turned away their faces

* *Murdahreg*. This is possibly the same word as *murdahre* which is explained by Richardson to be the effects of a dead person. There may be a reference to fortune-hunting, but I prefer the rendering of “mirage” given by some of the best Persian dictionaries.

from the world and look on tankas and jetals as on snakes and scorpions. A king should enquire on matters of religion from sages such as these, and guide his labours by the judgment of God-fearing men. Now, my son, you have served in your grandfather's presence, and have seen to what extent he occupied himself in fasting and prayers, in works of absolute duty and works of supererogation.* There was no sage or reverend man who had such strength to fast and pray as the Sultán Balban, your grandfather. If he heard that one prayer had been omitted by my brother or myself, or that we had overslept ourselves, and had neglected to offer up our morning prayer in the congregation, he would not speak to us for a month; and if he heard that any one had once omitted a prayer, whenever that person came into his presence, he would turn away his face from him. I have heard from many holy men that whoever eats during the fast of the month of Ramazán will die young, and the man who does not pray, cannot be counted a Musalmán nor addressed as such, and it is no sin to spill his blood.

“And, O my son, forasmuch as it is a hard thing to die, especially for a king who has to leave so many things that make life pleasant, and harder than all for a king to die young, carrying with him a wistful regret into the other world,† listen to your father's last precept. Do not eat during the fast of the Ramazán, and offer prayers in every way you know, and remove not from near you one wise God-seeking man, for while thousands care for the world, he will care for your religion.”

Such were the good counsels of Sultán Náçir-uddín; and he wept aloud, and clasping Sultán Mu'izz-uddín in his arms, bade him farewell.

And in that last moment, while kissing his son's eyes and cheeks, and embracing him again and again, he whispered in his ear, “Be quick and put Nizám-uddín out of the way. If after this, he finds an opportunity, he will not leave you on the throne a day.”

With these words he turned away weeping, and as he went, twice or thrice repeated this verse :

* نوافل, *Nawáfil*.

† Or *az zamín tá ásmán* may mean simply ‘to an excessive degree.’

Chide not my tears, though like a shower
Of spring they gush in rivers ;
For rocks might weep to rue the hour
That friend from friend dissevers.

Those who witnessed the sorrow and the weeping and the anguish of that hour of parting, were affected even to tears, and for many a long day after, the spectacle lived in the memory of the beholders. And the story goes, that on the day of his return, Sultān Nācīr-uddīn, as he mounted his horse, uttered a cry of grief, and all through that day's journey continued weeping, and tasted no food, and said to the bystanders, and his attendants ; " I have bidden adieu for ever to my son and the empire of Dihlī. I know for a certainty that in a very short time my son will be living no more, and the empire of Dihlī will be dissolved."

PART III.—RETURN OF MU'IZZ-UDDĪN.

So Sultān Mu'izz-uddīn returned from Audh towards Dihlī, and for a few days followed his father's advice, and forsook the haunts of revelry and mirth, and drank no wine, and listened to no songs, and summoned no fair damsels to his presence. But far and wide was the fame of his lavish gifts, and his devotion to pleasure, and his dainty and fastidious voluptuousness bruited through the cities of the provinces ; and so patent to the world was his beauty-worship and libertinism, that notorious rufflers and gray sinners in the hope of making acceptable offerings to the king, had trained beautiful girls,—irresistible with their bright glances and radiant wit,—to sing and strike the lute, and chant canzonets, and utter pretty railleries, and to play at drafts and chess. And every moon-bright darling, bale of the city and scourge of the world,—was disciplined in divers ways, and, ere her budding bosom expanded in the garden of youth, was taught to ride her horse at speed, and play at ball, and cast the javelin, and become adept in every lively and elegant accomplishment. They were instructed in divers acts of fascination, which would make monks idolaters, and seduce the most devout to intoxication,—syrens of Hindústān, slave-boys shapely as the cypress, and damsels shining as the moon, skilled

in Persian and singing, pranked in gold and trinkets and embroidered dresses and brocade, soul-alluring puppets schooled in all the civilities and courtesies and fashions of the court, peerless smooth-faced boys with their ear-drops of pearl, and damsels robed like brides in their wedding glories ;—and the masters of minstrelsy and the subtle conjurors who had in secret prepared lays in Persian and Hindí, and had embodied the praises of the Sultán in epigram and ballad and madrigal and comic song, and mimics and buffoons who, with a single jest would betray the saddest into a burst of merriment, and make the jovial hold their sides for excess of laughter,—all these came from far countries to feed on the bounty of the Sultán. And the tavern-keepers of Koel and Mí-at'h brought wines in vessels from their stills redolent of musk and guiltless of headaches, and presented them to the king.

Mu'izz-uddín had travelled four or five stages on his homeward route to Dihlí. Every day a bevy of fair girls with shapes like the cypress and cheeks like the rose, who would make idolaters of the most continent, and for whose sake the holiest would renounce their faith, were stationed by the road-side, and when the Sultán's suite approached, came forward and sang. The king, though his heart drew him towards their moonlike forms, and his soul went forth in response to their allurements, from shame on account of his father's warnings which had reached the ears of all his army, put restraint on himself and endured patiently.* He only glanced stealthily at them from the corners of his eyes, and now and again a desire to address them passed through his mind.

But one day he met on the way a cavalier urchin of lovely appearance and saucy mien, a very snare of calamity, wearing an embroidered vest, with a quiver encrusted with gold slung at his side, and arrows in the quiver, and a cap of imperial cut perked over his ear. He was mounted on a grey jennet that bore its white tail high in the air, and arrayed in gilded trappings and a hauberk set with studs in hunter's fashion, and black tassels swung on his charger's breast. Like the chosen champion of the field of beauty, he burst through the body guard, and galloped and wheel-

* Read *bar-i-shikebhá*, the fruit of endurances. I don't know what else to make of it.

ed and spurred in front of the royal cortège. And the by-standers and the guard thought it must surely be a prince in pursuit of game who thus dazzled the beholders with his wanton tricks and feats of horsemanship. Again that life-confusing heart-ruining beauty fled like an arrow from the field and turned again and came in front of the imperial canopy ; and the body guards and gold-sticks that marched before the king's staff, bearing firelocks and maces in their hands, were so confounded at the beauty of the elf, that they were powerless to prevent his approach. In the twinkling of an eye, the eye and lamp of beauty reached the royal canopy, leaped from the saddle and prostrating himself before the king's horse chanted the following distich in melodious and ravishing tones,

Will but thy will and trample on my eyes,
I lay them in the dust upon thy path,

and said, " King of the world ! the exordium of this ode is a fit compliment to your Majesty ; but I am afraid and cannot repeat it." The king looking on the youth exclaimed, *Walláh*, and enchanted with his speech reined in his steed and with his own lips said, " Speak and fear not." That breaker of the scruples of the abstinent, cried,

Silver-bodied cypress ! thou art going to the desert,
Right treacherously thou goest, in going without me.

Thus quoting, with a thousand blandishments and amorous gestures, he addressed the king, " So many of us, sweet charmers as we are, enamoured of the king's beauty have come from many far distant places, and his majesty thrusts us aside and passes on. Are we not even meet attendants at the banquet ?"

The king, already enamoured of his beauty and wit, wavered on the verge of distraction. He could hardly refrain from dismounting from his horse, and taking him to his arms. In the tumult of his feelings, wound to a higher pitch by the melody of the charmer's voice, he utterly lost his self-control, cast his good resolves to the wind, and called for wine on the spot, and taking the royal cup in his hands quaffed it in the presence of the lovely boy, reciting these lines—

" At night I forswear the red wine, my Ganymede's witchery fearing,
" In the morning he dawns on my eyes, and I find my resolves disappearing."

When that ruin of the Moslem faith heard these lines recited, he retorted again in verse, singing in still sweeter and more seductive tones :

My looks bewitch both saints and shrews,
My smile,—no spells withstand it;
Nor curst ascetic can refuse
The wine-cup when I hand it.

At this display of his charms, his graceful mien, his musical voice, and courtly address, the spectators remained spell-bound, forming a hundred wishes to sacrifice themselves for him.* He meanwhile made his horse curvet and caracole, and seizing his bow, and fitting an arrow to the string, went seeking a partridge under the stones. The sight was one which struck the whole army dumb. The reins fell from their hands, their eyes were chained, and their road was forgotten, while their souls flew circling round that mine of graces. Suddenly the king arrived at his pavilion and alighted. A banquet was prepared. That fomenter of disturbances was called, and the king with unconcealed ardour said, “ We will drink wine from no hands but yours ; you shall be our Ganymede to-day.” He replied—

“ Though my beauty surpasses bright Artemis’ ring,
Not the less am I slave of the slaves of the king.”

Repeating this couplet, he filled the bowl and handed it to the king, who took it in his hands, and dazed with the sight of his world-illuminating beauty, repeated this verse—

“ When the circling bowl comes round to me,
Sweet cup-bearer, prithee pass me by !
Let me drink love’s wine as I gaze on thee,
And gaze and drink till I die !”

The cup-bearer bowed his head to the ground, and with playful empressment, a curve in his brow, and a twinkle in his eyes, twice said “ Drink, king of the world, drink ! The king said—

“ If thou present the wine-cup to the king,
Who’ll dare to call it a forbidden thing ?”

* Literally ‘ to whirl themselves over his head,’—an allusion to a superstitious ceremony, which survives, I think, in India in the practice of twirling a *chapátí* round a bride’s head, and then throwing it to a distance—All her ill-luck is supposed to be drawn into the *chapátí* and fly away with it.

Then, while the king of the cup-bearers cried "Drink, drink!" turning to Ziá-i-Jahjahí, he said laughing, "That is no bad mandate of the cup-bearer's." Ziá-uddín Jahjahí bowed and answered * * ?

[This is followed by a description, as wild as the scenes of revelry which it paints, of the progress of the Emperor to Dihlí, and his entry into the city. The recital, says the author, carries him back to the times of his youth; and, even in age and penury, his heart warms and his veins flush with the recollection of the scenes of mirth and festivity in which he was long ago an actor. He observes that the three years of Mu'izz-uddín's reign, however barren of enterprise, were undisturbed by disaffection and unstained by bloodshed. The personal popularity of the young king mitigated the dangers which he neglected to provide against, but in his natural tendency to gentleness, he forgot that it is the union of vigour with clemency, and of dignity with affability that renders a throne stable and a crown secure; and had it not been that maliks Nizám-uddín and Qiyám-uddín, his chief ministers were men of no ordinary capacity, sagacious and circumspect, themselves of noble birth, and beloved and respected by the nobility, the day that saw him assume the sceptre, would have seen it wrested from his grasp. He closes his narration as follows :]

I resume the story of Mu'izz-uddín's reign. After he returned from Audh, for awhile no event of importance occurred; but his health was impaired, and excessive incontinence made him weak and pale. He was anxious to act upon his father's advice and rid himself of Nizám-uddín; but he did not reflect that as long as there was no one to take Nizám-uddín's place, to remove him would only aggravate his difficulties a hundred-fold. At last, he ordered Nizám-uddín to Multán, ostensibly to check the disorder prevailing there. Nizám-uddín divined that his removal was due to some injunction which the Emperor had received from his father, and feared that his absence would afford an opportunity to his enemies at Court to work his ruin. He delayed his departure. The courtiers discovered that the emperor was bent on removing him. The day they had so long secretly watched for, had arrived. With great precaution and privacy, they obtained the Emperor's

permission to put a deadly poison in Nizám-uddín's wine. They did so, and on the same day he died; and all the people of Dihlí knew that he had been poisoned. And after his death the little stability there was in Mu'izz-uddín's empire was shaken out of it.* A crowd of vagabonds thronged the gates of the palace; business was at a stand still, and the whole system of government seemed to collapse. It was at this juncture that the future Emperor Jalál-uddín, who was then governor of Samána, came to court and accepted office, and an attempt was made to carry on the administration, but the jealousy and intrigues of the lords and courtiers rendered the ministry powerless. Meanwhile Mu'izz-uddín was attacked with palsy and convulsions, and daily grew worse, till there was little hope of his recovery. The Balban party was the first to take decisive action. They brought the infant son of Mu'izz-uddín out of the harem and set him on the throne, and gave him the title of Sultán Shams-uddín. While this was going on, and Mu'izz-uddín lay sick and helpless in his villa of Kílúk'hari, Jalál-uddín betook himself to Bahárpúr and rallied round him a strong party of relatives and adherents, but not unobserved. Etmár Kachhán and Etmár Surkha on the Turkish side resolved to entrap him, and sent a memorial, addressing him as the Emperor Jalál-uddín. And Etmár Kachhán started with a small escort with the intention of decoying him from Bahárpúr, and carrying him off, and putting him to death in the palace of Shams-uddín. But Jalál-uddín suspected the plot, and the instant that Etmár Kachhán reached his door, he was pulled down from his horse and his head severed from his body. And Jalál-uddín's sons, acting on the inspiration of the moment, took with them a troop of fifty horse, and rode openly into the Emperor's Court, and dragged the son of the Emperor Mu'izz-uddín from the throne, and sent him a prisoner to their father.

On this the citizens rose in a body, and great and small, nobles and commoners, poured out of the twelve gates of the city and took the road to Bahárpúr, bent on rescuing the Emperor's son. For the citizens abhorred the thought of being ruled by the Khiljís,

* Up to this point I have endeavoured to give a faithful translation. The remainder is a mere loose paraphrase.

and held Jalál-uddín in great aversion. But the kotwál, acting in the interest of his own sons, put down the tumult in the city and turned the people back, and dispersed the crowd that had gathered round the Badáon gate, and many of the maliks and nobles in spite of their Turkish descent went over to Jalál-uddín's side and joined his camp, and the Khiljí force became numerous.

Two days after the above events, they sent a malik, whose father had been put to death by Mu'izz-uddín, into Kílúk'harí, with instructions to destroy the sick emperor. He passed into the fort and finding Mu'izz-uddín with only a glimmer of life left in him, stifled him in his robe, and flung the body into the stream, which bore it away.

The malik Chahjhú, the emperor Balban's cousin, who was next heir to the throne, received an assignment of land at Karrah, and was sent there. And friends and opponents alike joined to instal Jalál-uddín as Emperor. He mounted his horse and came with a great concourse from Bahárpúr, and alighted at Mu'izz-uddín's fort of Kílúk'harí, and there took his seat on the throne and assumed the government.

His accession was distasteful to the mass of the citizens, and, knowing this, for a long time he never ventured within the walls of Dihlí, and the palace and throne of the ancient kings remained vacant and disused. Dihlí was then full of men of rank and wealth, but no voice of congratulation hailed the installation of Jalál-uddín. The popular feeling was adverse to the Khiljís, but from the day of Mu'izz-uddín's death the sovereignty fell to that race and passed away for ever from the family of the Turks.

God is the king of kingdoms, and He still
Taketh from whom, giveth to whom He will.
On whom He smileth, honour gilds his name :
On whom He frowneth, press disgrace and shame.
Or blessings fall from Him or curses shower,
Peerless His goodness, and unmatched His power.
